

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-13

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 PM-07 NSC-10 SPC-03 SAM-01 SS-20

RSC-01 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PRS-01 IO-14 DODE-00

L-03 DRC-01 CPR-02 /112 W
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R 071530Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8206
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 247

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY

SUBJECT: GOCYPRUS BAN ON MIL ATTACHE'S ATTENDANCE AT TMT
DEMONSTRATION

REF: STATE 024454

1. CHARGE CALLED UPON FOREIGN MINISTER AND READ FOLLOWING
STATEMENT. (DEPT WILL NOTE STATEMENT
TAKEN FROM REFTEL, WITH INSERTION OF THREE POINTS FROM
PARA 4 OF NICOSIA 225.)

2. BEGIN QUOTE:

A. THE USG VERY MUCH REGRETS THE POSITION OF THE GOC THAT
THE CARRYING OUT OF NORMAL DUTIES BY OUR MILITARY ATTACHE
WOULD CONSTITUTE AN UNFRIENDLY ACT.

B. WE DO NOT CONSIDER THAT SUCH ACTIONS ARE IN ANY WAY
STEPS TOWARD RECOGNITION. NOR CAN WE AGREE TO THE RIGHT
OF THE GOC TO CONTROL OUR CONTACTS WITH THE TURK CYPRIOTS.
WE TAKE NOTE OF T*E OFFER BY THE CHARGE, PRIOR TO DELIVERY
OF THE MINISTRY'S VERBAL NOTE, THAT HE COULD PROVIDE ORAL
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OR WRITTEN ASSURANCE OF THIS POSITION CONCERNING

RECOGNITION.

C. THE USG HAS A LONG-STANDING POLICY OF NOT AGREEING TO GOC RIGHT T CONTROL OR LIMIT OUR CONTACTS WITH TURK CYPRIOTS. THE CHARGE HAD CALLED THE MINISTRY'S ATTENTION TO THIS POSITION, AND TO THE FACT THAT THE ISSUE HAD ARISEN IN 1971, WHEN AMBASSADOR POPPER HAD OBTAINED THE ARCH-BISHOP'S CONCURRENCE IN PRINCIPLE. AGAIN IN 1973, THE USG HAD TAKEN THE SAME POSITION, HAD AGREED NOT REPEAT NOT TO SEND REPS TO FORMAL TURKISH NATIONAL DAY ONLY ON THE EXPRESS GOC CONCURRENCE IN THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE GOC WOULD NOT OTHERWISE ATTEMPT TO RESTRICT OUR CONTACT WITH TURK CYPRIOTS. THE EFFECT OF THE NOTE CONCERNING THE MILITARY ATTACHE'S ATTENDANCE AT THE CEREMONY WAS TO LIMIT SUCH CONTACT.

D. THE CHARGE HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE MILITARY ATTACHE WAS NOT ACCEPTING AN INVITATION FROM THE QUESTIONED UNIT, BUT RATHER FROM THE MINISTER, WHOM THE GOC KNOWS WE RECOGNIZE.

E. IN VIEW OF THE STRONG REPRESENTATIONS BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND AMBASSADOR DIMITRIOU AND THE GOVERNMENT'S EXPRESSED INTENT NOT TO LIMIT OUR CONTACTS WITH THE TURK CYPRIOTS, OUR MILITARY ATTACHE IN NICOSIA WAS INSTRUCTED NOT TO ATTEND THE CEREMONY IN QUESTION.

F. HOWEVER, WE WISH TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE USG IS UNPREPARED TO ACCEPT FURTHER STEPS WHICH WILL HAVE THE EFFECT OF PREGRESSIVELY REDUCING OUR CONTACT WITH THE TURK CYPRIOTS.

G. MOREOVER, IT IS OUR BELIEF THAT THE ACTION OF THE GOC IN THIS MATTER WILL NOT CONTRIBUTE TO A POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE ON CYPRUS.

END QUOTE

3. CHARGE DID NOT REPEAT NOT LEAVE COPY WITH FOREIGN MINISTER. SAID THAT TO AVOID FUTURE MISUNDERSTANDING,
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HE WISHED TO ASK WASHINGTON FOR CLARIFICATION AS TO MEANING OF "FURTHER STEPS" IN PARA F. POINTED OUT IT COULD BE A LEGITIMATE MISUNDERSTANDING IF WE ASSUME "FURTHER STEPS" MEANT SUBSEQUENT ACTIONS WHILE FOREIGN MINISTRY READ "FURTHER STEPS" AS LIMITATIONS BEYOND PRECEDENT OF DENYING MIL ATTACHE'S RIGHT TO ATTEND FORMAL APPEARANCES OF TURKI*H FIGHTERS.

4. FOREIGN MINISTER IS PERSONALLY EMOTIONAL ON THIS

ISSUE, ASKS WHY U.S. GOVT ALONE RESISTS REQUEST FROM MINISTRY, CLEARLY BELIEVES THAT U.S. RESISTANCE CONSTITUTES INFRINGEMENT UPON CYPRIOT SOVEREIGNTY. CHARGE ATTEMPTED TO FOCUS HIM ON PROBLEMS GOCYPRUS IS CREATING FOR OUR TURKISH RELATIONS, AND ON DIFFICULTIES INTO WHICH WE ARE PUT BY INSTRUCTIONS SUCH AS GOCYPRUS GAVE US LAST NOVEMBER AND TUESDAY. POINTED OUT THAT SOMEBODY WHO WISHED ILL TO CYPRIOT-AMERICAN RELATIONS APPARENTLY IS PASSING INFORMATION AS TO THESE INVITATIONS TO TURKISH OCCASIONS TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, IN HOPES OF CAUSING TROUBLE FOR OUR RELATIONSHIP. (WE ASSUME EITHER EAST EUROPEANS OR SYRIANS ARE THE ONES INVOLVED, WITH PRECISELY THIS IN MIND. FOREIGN MINISTER'S THOUGHTFUL SILENCE WHEN I RAISED THIS POINT SUGGESTS THIS MAY BE THE CASE.)

5. ONE DISTURBING FACTOR IS CONSTANT RETURN BY FOREIGN MINISTER TO THE THEME THAT GOCYPRUS HAS RIGHT TO CONTROL ACCESS BY DIPLOMATS TO "ILLEGAL" ORGANIZATIONS OR EVENTS. THIS OF COURSE ASSERTS AN UNLIMITED RIGHT, SINCE IN GOCYPRUS EYES ENTIRE TURK CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATION IS ILLEGAL

6. FOREIGN MINISTER APPARENTLY HAS NO RECORDS OF 1971 EXCHANGES CULMINATING IN POPPER/MAKARIOS CONVERSATION IN WHICH AMBASSADOR POPPER "INSISTED THE U.S. COULD NOT CHANGE ITS PRACTICE VIA-A-VIS THE TURK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY."

7. COMMENT:

FIRST, AS TO GOCYPRUS INTENTIONS: WE ARE FRANKLY STILL PUZZLED AS TO WHETHER FOREIGN MINISTRY IS EMBARKED ON DELIBERATE EFFORT TO REDUCE FOREIGN CONTACT WITH TURKS, OR WHETHER IT IS SIMPLY REACTING WITH ANNOYANCE WHEN REMINDED OF TURK CYPRIOT DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS. THERE MAY
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BE SOMETHING OF BOTH. IF WE ARE CORRECT IN ASSUMING DELIBERATE NEEDLING BY EAST EUROPE, AND IF OUR READING OF DIR GEN VENIAMIN AS PASSIONATE ADVOCATE OF FULL CYPRIOT SOVEREIGNTY IS JUSTIFIED, WE THINK FOREIGN MINISTER MAY BE HYPNOTIZED BY QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY TO DEGREE HE SIMPLY HAS NOT FOCUSED ON FACT THAT GOCYPRUS IS PROGRESSINGLY WHITTLED AWAY AT LONG-STANDING UNDERSTANDINGS AND PROCEDURES INVOLVING FOREIGN CONTACT WITH TURK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY. HE SPEAKS AS THOUGH THE TURK CYPRIOT INVITATIONS TO FOREIGNERS TO ATTEND VARIOUS FORMAL FUNCTIONS ARE NEW, WHEREAS THEY HAVE BEEN ISSUED, AND ACCEPTED, FOR YEARS.

8. IN EITHER CASE, MINISTER IS NOW ASSERTING RIGHT TO CONTROL AND LIMIT CONTACTS FAR BEYOND ANY EFFORT SINCE UNSUCCESSFUL ONE IN 1971. FOR REASONS SET FORTH BELOW, WE

BELIEVE THAT USG SHOULD NOT ALLOW ASSUMPTION TO STAND THAT
WE CANNOT ATTEND FIGHTER CEREMONIES, OR THAT WE ACCEPT
GOCYPRUS RIGHT TO CONTROL.
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ACTION NEA-13

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R 071530Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8207
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

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9. SECOND, AS TO COST/BENEFIT CALCULATION FOR USG:
REGARDING PARA 2 REFTEL, WE BELIEVE THAT POINT C IS THE
VITAL ONE. DEPT IS IN A POSITION, AS WE ARE NOT, TO WEIGH
COSTS OF A GIVEN LINE IN CYPRUS AGAINST BENEFITS IN TURKEY,
AND VICE VERSA. WE WOULD POINT OUT THAT "PRESUMED
LOSS OF INFLUENCE" MAY BE SOMEWHAT PHANTASMAGORICAL.
IN TERMS OF OPERATIONS HERE, IF USG/CYPRIOT RELATIONS
WERE RILED OVER A SUSTAINED PERIOD, THERE COULD BE SOME
ANNOYANCES, AND SOME ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS CREATED FOR
PROJECT TENNIS WHICH OTHERWISE COULD PERHAPS BE AVOIDED.
ON BROADER SCENE, AS DEPT WELL AWARE, CYPRIOT POSITIONS
HAVE REFLECTED THEIR OWN INTERESTS RATHER THAN DEFERRAL
TO OUR INTERESTS, ALTHOUGH IN SOME INSTANCES OUR VIEWS
MAY HAVE BEEN A FACTOR IN LEADING THEM TO TAKE A NEUTRAL
RATHER THAN AN OPENLY HOSTILE POSITION, AND ON UN BUDGETARY
ASSESSMENT ISSUE THEY DID VOTE FOR USG POSITION. WE
THINK THAT OVERALL CYPRIOT CALCULATION OF ITS INTERESTS
VIS-A-VIS UNITED STATES WILL PROBABLY LEAD THEM TO SUB-
STANTIALLY SAME POSITIONS IN FUTURE EVEN IF THEY ARE

ANNOYED AT OUR RESISTANCE TO THEIR EFFORTS TO CHANGE OUR CONTACT PATTERNS WITH TURK CYPRIOTS.

10. AS TO REFTEL POINT D, DEPT RECOGNIZES THAT, ALTHOUGH
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GOCYPRUS HAS GIVEN US DIFFERING REASONS FOR RECENT EFFORTS TO LIMITE OUR PARTICIPATION IN TURK CYPRIOT OCCASIONS, EFFECT HAS IN BOTH CASES BEEN THE SAME, AND GOCYPRUS IS NOW ASSERTING A PRINCIPLE OF "ILLEGALITY" WHICH THEORETICALLY AND PERHAPS PRACTICALLY IS INFINITELY EXTENSIBLE. EVEN IF CONFINED TO PRESENT DEMAND TO AVOID FORMAL EXERCISES BY FIGHTERS, EFFECT ON OUR OPERATHIONS WOULD BE SERIOUS, SINCE TURK CYPRIOT FIGHTERS PARADE ON MOST FORMAL TURK CYPRIOT OCCASIONS, OUR ONLY CHANGE TO SEE THEM.

11. AS TO REFTEL POINT A CONCERNING SALAMI TACTICS, NOTE THAT INVITATION TO MIL ATTACHE WAS NOT A TURKISH EFFORT TO EXTEND TURK CYPRIOT PREROGATIVES. FOR YEARS, WE HAVE ACCEPTED INVITATIONS FROM OREK. INVITATION TO MIL ATTACHE WAS, IRONICALLY ENOUGH, OUTGROWTH OF UNDERSTANDING WE HAD REACHED LAST SUMMER WITH TURK CYPRIOTS, WHEN WE WERE ATTEMPTING TO AVOID TURKISH LIMITATIONS ON OUR FREEDOM TO OBSERVE DEVELOPMENTS IN TURKSIH SECTORS (NICOSIA 1629, STATE 153318, ETC). WE SHOULD HAVE STOOD IN BED.

12. THIRD, WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?; WE RECOMMEND THAT, INSTEAD OF HAVING CHARGE GO IN WITH ANY WRITTEN DOCUMENT, EFFECT WOULD BE GREATER IF APPROPRIATE DEPT OFFICIAL COULD CALL IN AMBASSADOR DIMITRIOU AND MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS;

(A) CHARGE HAS MADE DEMARCHE IN NICOSIA PARALLEL TO THAT WHICH DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY DAVIES HAD MADE TO AMBASSADOR DIMITRIOU. PRESENTATION BY CHARGE HAD ALSO INCORPORATED BRIEF REVIEW OF HISTORICAL CONTACTS, AND HAD INCLUDED REITERATION OF CHARGE'S WILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE ORAL OR WRITTEN ASSURANCE THAT NORMAL CONTACTS BY MIL ATTACHE OR OTHER EMBASSY OFFICERS DID NOT CONSTITUTE STEPS TOWARD FORMAL RECOGNITION.

(B) CHARGE REPORTS THAT HE HAD TOLD FON MIN HE WOULD ASK WASHINGTON TO CLARIFY FOR BENEFIT OR GOCYPRUS WHAT WE MEAN BY STATEMENT THAT "USG IS UNPREPARED TO ACCEPT FURTHER STEPS..." WHICH BOTH DEPUTY UNDERSECRETARY AND CHARGE HAD USED IN DEMARCHES. CHARGE HAD ALSO RELAYED FOREIGN MINISTER'S REQUEST FOR OUR UNDERSTANDING OF EXCHANGE CULMINATING IN POPPER/MAKARIOS
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MEETING IN 1971 WHICH ADDRESSED SIMILAR QUESTION OF USG CONTACTS WITH TURK CYPRIOTS.

(C) (HERE WE SUGGEST BRIEF SUMMARY OF U.S. POLICY ON CONTACTS DRAWING UPON 1971 MATERIALS, WHICH ARE NO LONGER AVAILABLE AT EMBASSY NICOSIA. DRAW ALSO AS NECESSARY UPON "EMBASSY CONTACTS WITH THE TURK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY: STANDING PRODEDURES", A MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES FROM CHARGE, DATED NOV 16, 1973, COPY OF WHICH WAS POUCHED TO NEA/CYP. DESCRIBE "FURTHER STEPS" AS "SUBSEQUENT ACTIONS.")

(D) DEPT WISHES AGAIN TO UNDERLINE ITS BELIEF THAT GOVT OF CYPRUS BY ENDEAVORING TO CHANGE AND CIRCUMSCRIBE LONG-EXISTING PATTEN OF U.S. CONTACTS WITH TURK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY IS NOT ADVANCING ITS OWN INTERESTS, IS RAISING DIFFICULTIES IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, AND MOST IMPORTANT IS MAKING IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR US TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE AND HELPFUL ROLE VIS-A-VIS GOCYPRUS INTERESTS IN ANKARA. (IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO CITE KISSINGER'S REQUEST TO CHRISTOPHIDES THAT HE NOT MAKE OUR PURSUIT OF THIS ROLE MORE DIFFICULT.)

13. SUCH A DEMARCHE IN WASHINGTON WOULD, WE THINK, CARRY CONSIDERABLY GREATER WEIGHT THAN FURTHER APPROACH BY CHARGE HERE, AND WOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT EMBASSY RESISTANCE TO GOCYPRUS DEMANDS IN NOVEMBER AND THIS WEEK IS PRODUCT OF U.S. POLICY, NOT SIMPLY LOCAL MANIFESTATION OF ILL TEMPER.

14. IF DIMITRIOU RAISES PRINCIPLE OF "ILLEGAL" CONTACTS, WE BELIEVE DEPT SHOULD CITE ANOMALOUS LEGAL STATUS OF ENTIRE CYPRIOT SITUATION, POINT OUT THAT WE DO NOT INTEND TO JUDGE LEGALITIES, BUT WE DO NOT BELIEVE WE CAN TERMINATE CONTACT WITH EITHER SIDE BECAUSE OTHER REGARDS IT AS "ILLEGAL." (HOEVER, WOULD SUGGEST THIS FINE AND IRRITATING POINT BE AVOIDED UNLESS FORMALLY RAISED.)

15. WE HOPE MESSAGE CAN BE GOTTEN ACROSS THAT "UNFRIENDLY ACT" IS A STRONG PHRASE TO BE THROWING AROUND.
GRANT

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